

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02
SS-15 TRSE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /078 W
-----070147 151000Z /11

O R 150854Z JUN 78
FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2948
SECDEF WASHDC
INFO ALL MBFR MISSIONS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY ANKARA
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

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FROM US REP MBFR

USSALTTWO

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE. ALL OTHER MBFR MISSIONS ROUTINE.

E O 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO
SUBJ: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC REPORT TO THE NAC

AT ITS JUNE 14 MEETING, THE AD HOC GROUP APPROVED IN
GENERAL TERMS THE OUTLINE TO BE USED BY BELGIAN REP
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(SMOLDEREN) IN MAKING REGULAR AHG ORAL REPORT TO THE
NAC JUNE 16. SMOLDERN WILL BE ASSISTED BY UK REP
(BOLLAND) AND GREEK REP (CONTOUMAS). BELGIAN REP
WILL DRAW ON MATERIAL IN THE OUTLINE, NOT NECESSARILY
USING IT IN FULL. UNLIKE WRITTEN REPORTS TO THE NAC,
THE AD HOC GROUP DOES NOT UNDERTAKE WORD-FOR-WORD
APPROVAL OF THESE OUTLINES, WHICH ARE CONSIDERED AS

SPEAKING NOTES. AN INFORMAL TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT
OF BELGIAN REP'S REPORT, WHICH WILL BE DELIVERED IN
FRENCH, FOLLOWS BELOW:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. MY REPORT TODAY ON THE VIENNA NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL AND
BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS COVERS EVENTS SINCE THE OPENING OF
THE FIFTEENTH ROUND ON 15 MAY THROUGH THE PLENARY OF 15 JUNE
1978. THE MOST SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT DURING THIS PERIOD
WAS THE FORMAL PRESENTATION AT THE 8 JUNE PLENARY MEETING OF
THE EASTERN RESPONSE TO THE NEW WESTERN INITIATIVE OF 19
APRIL 1978. THAT RESPONSE CONSISTED OF A CRITIQUE OF THE
LATEST WESTERN MOVE AND THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW EASTERN PRO-
POSALS.

2. THE AD HOC GROUP HAS ALREADY REPORTED TO THE COUNCIL THE
CONTENTS OF THE 8 JUNE EASTERN PROPOSALS AND ITS PRELIMINARY
ANALYSIS OF THEM. MY REMARKS THIS MORNING ARE INTENDED MAINLY
TO SUPPLEMENT THOSE REPORTS AND WILL, AS A CONSEQUENCE, BE
RELATIVELY BRIEF. NATURALLY, MY COLLEAGUES AND I WILL BE
PLEASED TO TRY TO ANSWER QUESTIONS WHICH MEMBERS OF THE COUN-
CIL MAY HAVE ON THE NEW INITIATIVE, BEARING IN MIND THAT MANY
POINTS REMAIN UNCLEAR.

3. FROM THE OUTSET OF THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING ROUND, EASTERN
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REPRESENTATIVES PREPARED THE WAY FOR THEIR MOVE OF 8 JUNE.
ON THE ONE HAND, THEY POINTED IN THEIR OFFICIAL STATEMENTS
TO WHAT THEY CONSIDERED TO BE DEFICIENCIES IN THE 19 APRIL
WESTERN INITIATIVE. ON THE OTHER, THEY INDICATED IN BILATERAL
CONVERSATIONS THAT THE EAST WAS PREPARING TO TAKE A NEW STEP
OF ITS OWN. IN THE FORMER REGARD, WHILE CONCEDED THAT THE
19 APRIL INITIATIVE HAD SOME POSITIVE CONTENT, EASTERN REPRE-
SENTATIVES PRESENTED THEIR OVERALL EVALUATION OF IT IN NE-
GATIVE TERMS. THE MAIN CRITICISMS WERE ALL SPECIFIC VARIANTS
OF THE GENERAL EASTERN COMPLAINT THAT THE WEST HAD LEFT INTACT
THE BASIC WESTERN APPROACH TO ALL IMPORTANT QUESTIONS OF PRIN-
CIPLE AND HAD, THUS, FAILED TO PROVIDE A SUITABLE BASIS FOR
REACHING A MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT.

4. AS REGARDS THE 8 JUNE EASTERN PROPOSALS, THEMSELVES, THE
AD HOC GROUP CONTINUES TO BE OF THE VIEW THAT AN INFORMED
COMPREHENSIVE EVALUATION OF THEM MUST AWAIT ADDITIONAL EASTERN
CLARIFICATION OF A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT POINTS. IT IS, HOWEVER,
ALREADY QUITE EVIDENT THAT THESE PROPOSALS, WHICH ARE CLOSELY
TIED TO EASTERN ASSERTION THAT THERE IS AN APPROXIMATE EQUALITY
BETWEEN WARSAW PACT AND NATO MILITARY MANPOWER IN CENTRAL EUROPE,
HAVE FOCUSSED THE NEGOTIATIONS ALL THE MORE INTENSELY ON THE EAST-

WEST DIFFERENCES IN VIENNA OVER THE ACTUAL MANPOWER STRENGTH OF
PACT FORCES IN THE REDUCTION AREA.

5. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE CONTINUED ACTIVELY TO SEEK TO
IDENTIFY THE PRECISE SOURCES OF EAST-WEST DIFFERENCES OVER
MANPOWER DATA, BUT ARE STILL UNABLE TO REPORT ANY SIGNIFICANT

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DEVELOPMENTS IN THIS REGARD. EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES HAVE
LATELY COMPLAINED ABOUT THE DURATION OF THE DATA DISCUSSION
AND HAVE CHARGED THAT WESTERN QUESTIONS ABOUT EASTERN DATA
ARE STRAYING INTO THE FIELD OF FORCE ORGANIZATION AND STRUC-
TURE. AT THE SAME TIME, THEY HAVE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT PRIOR
AGREEMENT ON DATA IS ESSENTIAL FOR A FORCE REDUCTION AGREEMENT
AND HAVE REPEATED THEIR BELIEF THAT IT WOULD BE ADVANTAGEOUS
TO EXCHANGE INFORMATION ON AVERAGE FORCE MANNING LEVELS.

6. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES WILL ENDEAVOR TO DEVELOP A FULL

PICTURE OF THE CONTENT AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE LATEST EASTERN
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PROPOSALS. AT THIS STAGE, THE GROUP INTENDS TO FOCUS WESTERN EFFORTS ON THREE AREAS. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES WILL PRESS EASTERN REPRESENTATIVES TO EXPLAIN MORE FULLY THOSE ASPECTS OF THE 8 JUNE PROPOSALS WHICH APPEAR TO SHOW SOME MOVEMENT AND WILL PROBE FOR POSSIBLE ADDITIONAL EASTERN FLEXIBILITY ON THESE ISSUES. WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES WILL ALSO HIGHLIGHT THE DEFECTS OF THOSE ASPECTS OF THE EASTERN APPROACH WHICH REMAIN UNCHANGED AND CONTRARY TO THE WESTERN POSITION AND WILL PRESS THE MERITS OF THE WESTERN APPROACH. THIRDLY, WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES WILL CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS TO RESOLVE THE DATA ISSUE.

7. FURTHER, THE AD HOC GROUP HAS ASKED ME TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO NOT THAT THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NEW EASTERN PROPOSALS HAS MADE IT ALL THE MORE TACTICALLY DESIRABLE FOR WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES IN VIENNA TO BE ABLE TO ELABORATE AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE THE FULL RANGE OF THE WESTERN POSITION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IN THIS REGARD, THE GROUP WELCOMES THE EFFORT NOW UNDERWAY IN THE SPC AND THE MBFR WORKING GROUP AIMED AT A COMPREHENSIVE ELABORATION OF THE ALLIED APPROACH TO ASSOCIATED MEASURES.

8. IN SHORT:

A. AS ALREADY NOTED, IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO ATTEMPT A COMPLETE ANALYSIS OF THE 8 JUNE EASTERN PROPOSALS.

B. HOWEVER, SOME INDIVIDUAL OBSERVATIONS CAN BE MADE.

C. FOR EXAMPLE, THE EASTERN APPEARS TO HAVE ACCEPTED THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE WESTERN REDUCTION APPROACH EVEN THOUGH IT HAS ALSO FITTED INTO IT MUCH OF THE CONTENT OF THE ORIGINAL EASTERN PROGRAM.

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D. DESPITE SHARP EASTERN CRITICISM OF THE 19 APRIL WESTERN INITIATIVE, IT IS PLAUSIBLE TO CONCLUDE THAT THAT INITIATIVE WAS THE MAJOR IMPORTANT FACTOR IN INDUCING THE EAST TO MAKE SUCH CONCESSIONS TO WESTERN INTERESTS AS WERE EMBODIED IN THE EAST'S 8 JUNE PROPOSALS.

E. WHILE THE EAST'S 8 JUNE PROPOSALS ARE NOT SUFFICIENT TO

WORK THE NEGOTIATIONS DECISIVELY TOWARDS ACHIEVEMENT OF A FIRST AGREEMENT, THE EAST HAS PROVIDED A SUBSTANTIAL AMOUNT OF NEW MATERIAL FOR POTENTIALLY PRODUCTIVE DISCUSSION.

F. THUS, THE VIENNA TALKS CAN BE SAID TO HAVE RECEIVED AT A MINIMUM, AN IMPETUS THAT IS LIKELY TO CARRY THEM INTO A NEW AND MORE ACTIVE PHASE.

G. HOWEVER, THE EAST HAS NOT GIVEN ANY INDICATION THAT IT WILL MOVE ON DATA. THE FEW POINTS WHICH HAVE BEEN DEFINITELY CLARIFIED ARE OF LIMITED IMPORTANCE.

H. THUS, IT DOES NOT APPEAR TO THE GROUP FROM ITS PERSPECTIVE THAT THE EAST'S RESPONSE HAS YET BROUGHT THE NEGOTIATIONS TO THE POINT OF A BREAKTHROUGH. END TEXT. RESOR

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